/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers; I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemá -- his first wife (from the Pakidã tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamá -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Taímakána, who died in childbirth — 9 years

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.) Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123
153
[177]

Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.

153

The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[191]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/

XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- pruká -- and very much -- pruká, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauê. One hand is called mahõn imêk, and both hands, porokabõ imêk. The fingers -- imixõk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

802 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a
804 glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehãu --
821 (Surára), -- bemututuorelí -- (Pakidái) and ends with the setting of the sun -- peimaujafuk -- (Surára), -- betamtíte -- (Pakidái). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohê by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- peniboínxi -- (Surára), -- benibeũx -- (Pakidái), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarí -- (Pakidái). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamhâruk, the morning henahá, the evening -- petamahuwetehafik --, and night -- petamatíti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiũ -- and the rainy season -- peuõnk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbõ --, there are also designations for new moon -- istoríbe -- and full moon -- perimbõabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauábe -- (Surára), -- hubári -- (Pakidái). The eclipse of the sun is called xomokã by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars --
000 purimá -- and big stars -- purimá hreu. /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 the Quadu confluence we had wheeled round somewhat to the north, towards more uneven country where fruit was scarce, its place being filled by palm-hearts, a slightly laxative diet.

[802] It was night and Uarema was sitting underneath my hammock in the camp, counting the days. First on his fingers, then on his toes: three times altogether, which meant sixty days, or two moons, 'two pulipuli'.

The Samatari were listening, slowly taking in the idea and its implication: because now we had a plan of action for taking our departure, and it was based on these 'two pulipuli'. Our story had been thoroughly rehearsed in a council of war, with Uarema, Hashimo and Solituan in addition to our two selves. Sempronio was still with the boys. By now he was so well and truly Samatari-ized as to be unrecognizable. Narcissus and his companion had mysteriously disappeared.

The Guayca had approved of the plan, which was after all a simple one with no devious machinations about it. On the Merevari, from which we had come, we had a dump of merchandise, including everything anyone could possibly want. There was red cloth, which would make loincloths for the Samatari, and machetes, knives, axes, even dresses for the ladies, long lengths of cloth, shirts, and numerous remedies for sickness, besides something that counted even more—a big stack of guns. We would go to the Merevari accompanied by the Samatari, recover our store of goods, distribute it to them, and then altogether in a band, dressed, armed and equipped in all this finery, return to the Aracosa to live, making war on all their enemies, who would soon be laid low with the help of the guns.

Such was the story which the Guayca—interested parties themselves—undertook to spread among the Samatari. The latter thought it over well, and decided that it was reasonable enough. Every now and then, somebody passing would ask: 'Two pulipuli?'—just as if he was greeting us, or saying 'Good night'. Certainly, one must not hurry with Indians—one of the things they reproach us for is, in fact, our haste. This, combined with our hairy faces and our grim expressions, our stature and our superhuman air, makes us bad Indians, terrible as thunderstorms.

In a few days everyone was convinced that the plan was a good one. Fingers were counted to determine the length of the journey to the Merevari—which no one knew, though they had a general idea of its course. If we went direct, without retracing the steps we had taken on this provisioning march, or only

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulilíwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

• 802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

126 36 D16 [199] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmariböwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [102] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

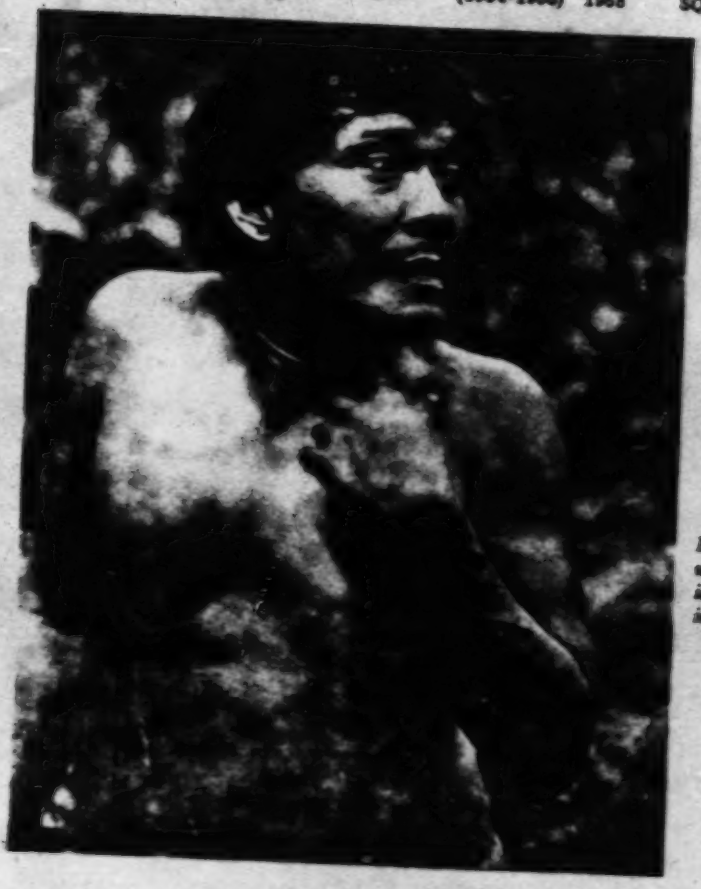

Fig. 1-3. Kaobawä, the war leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yanomamö, *if*, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kaobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yanomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kaobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kaobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Réyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Mõmariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowã-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	108	252
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawã's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawã's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When